

Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *raurau maw* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*kene i waraki*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs:

Au sa mate e na liliwa;
Tu me kei thei a tinatina?

I am perished with cold;
For whom is the sow?

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is:

Au sa mate e na ndolo;
Tu me kei thei a vakalolo?

I am dead with swimming;
For whom is the pudding?

Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each slipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: "*Vonu e lapate*." The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i setusetu*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava; when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast: besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i riri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i mbasu ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

YAWA FISHING IN MAVANA

In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracacna* oven" (*lovo ninggai*).

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The general methods of witchcraft are familiar to all, even children. ⁷⁵⁴ Remnants of food are used "because some parts are left, and some go down the stomach." It is said asthma can be caused by burying a man's spittle. A man will split a reed, stick it in a garden and hang bits of clothes on it "in order that that disease may come and settle on it."

A man from Matuku had learned from Kandavu Island a charm, and told it to me:

The man speaks to the spirit of the charm (*wa*) and then carries out the witchcraft. He prepared the leaves and lays them down before putting them into a pit, and speaks to the spirit: "These are the leaves for; please go straight and kill him." The *kalou* or spirit is his great-grandfather (it is usual to call on the great-grandfather), it is by him the charm is made effective. The leaves consist of a creeper, 16 leaves of bitter *siru*, and the sea creature called *uiniataloko*, along with the remnants of a man's food, tobacco, his clothes or his cup. The owner buries the charm and runs seawards, not returning to his garden for four nights. The spirit turns the man towards the pit; but any man who passes over it dies, even if he is a kinsman of the owner. After four nights he pierces the spot, which steams upward.

The disease affects the arms, legs, and belly, the body swells, and the victim becomes restless; it is just as though he were with child.

The owner of this malicious charm learned from the same Kandavu man ⁷⁵⁷ a method of detecting witchcraft. It is called *vakata* (causing to bite). ⁷⁵⁴ The man described it as follows:

This must be carried out before sunrise, because the kava has to be made before sunrise, for it is forbidden to meet anyone while divining. With the thumb and forefinger he plucks with alternate hands two stems of the small plant, *totondro*. He lays them before him and with the corresponding hand plucks off the leaves: he may not use the right hand on the left stem or vice versa. He makes two sets of four leaves each, folds them, and picks up one between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, the other in the same way with the left. He says, "I want to know about my kinsman, whether he is well or ill; if he is ill, let it sting me." Or else, "You twins, here, I wish to divine [*vakate*] for So-and-so. I want to know about my kinsman; be gracious and make effective my charm"; or "there is the kava of my kinsman; I want to know". He then chews the right hand set; if the kinsman is ill it will sting; if in health it will not sting. *Totondro* is a most insipid plant and stings only in divination. You may mention anything, such as witchcraft or cricket, then chew; it will not sting if your team is to lose. If a man wants to find a leaf he will point in all directions; it will sting when he points to the right one. The left hand is for confirmation (*i vakandinandina*). When the divination is over, the kava is poured away; no one drinks. The bathing consists in bathing in the sea, in washing hands and feet. ^[824]

This charm has a spirit, the Twins (*koiran* a *ndrua*). They are goddesses. The ^[76] charm (*vakata*) is just like my child: whenever kava is made at meetings I pour out a little of the first cup at the foot of the wall or elsewhere, and I drink the remainder. At the end of his demonstration I presented him with a mat and bark cloth and he said, "My power is gone. The charm is departed from me; you have taken it; the token thereof is the gift. If I want to carry it out it will not work. My charm is over for me; I shall not carry it out again; this gift is the end of it; now it will be useful to you till your death."

787 Though used for various purposes, this method of divination seems to be
754 specially connected with witchcraft, for a Mualevu boy once remarked that
totondro was used for witchcraft and that four leaves are bitten for divination.

753 The remedy for the witchcraft just described is a potion strained from
754 eight leaves of *walai* and eight of *sasanggilo*; the patient drinks on four
days and recovers at once. No prayer is said to the spirit before using the
remedy. During the four days these things are *tapu*: coconuts, fermented
coconut, sea water. After four nights the patient bathes.

VARIOUS KINDS OF WITCHCRAFT

754 A Lakemban learned the following method of witchcraft called the pin
(*i thula*) from a Totoyan:

Four bits of wood [species unknown] about an inch long; stick into the footprint, allowing them to project slightly; any part of the foot can be pricked by driving the sticks into the corresponding part of the footprint. If the sun is in the west the witch must see that his shadow does not fall on the footprint. The man whose footprint is pricked gets pain and cries day and night. If the witch wishes him to die he drives the stick in; then the leg becomes painful; if people find out in time who caused the pain, they call that man to effect a cure. The refresher (*i vakandrani*), as the cure is called, consists in leaves which are chewed and used as a lotion. Only the man who made the witchcraft can excise it. Sometimes if a woman rejects a man's advances he will anoint a reed and prick her footprint, taking care to be on the lee side of the reed.

There are flying charms (*i sansau vuka*), so called because reeds are planted which fly to anyone who goes that way. Nothing is done to the reeds; it is called an empty charm (*i sansau lala*) because no leaves or ointment are used. This is sometimes done where taro is stolen. The disease arises in the belly or the knees. A flying charm may affect anyone even if he is not stealing, so if a man sees an empty charm he knocks it down. The men of old left their yam stores open; anyone who went to eat died of witchcraft.

The disease called "*sau* of the hills" is said to be caused by a kind of lemon which was formerly used as soap. It is put to float on the water and if a man touches it he gets the disease.

Emosi knows only straight charms (*wai*) and not those tortuous ones like witchcraft; but he has heard of an ancient Fijian way of killing which belonged to Narova of Mathuata. It is called "bake his faeces" (*vavi a ndena*).

If anyone enters my house or quarrels about anything, I will keep watching him; I watch him at the place where he stools. When he stands up I go and collect his faeces and place them on leaves of *langakaliolowakalon*. I take a young branch of

ever is certainly wrong: he gives it a circular mound, whereas the modern 346 remains show it to have been certainly square, and so the people also say.

PRIESTS

In Matuku it was stated that when a priest died, after a time the spirit 793 entered a man of that clan and that man quaked. The chief then asked 775 the name of the spirit. They then anointed the man in the temple with yellow. Neither the priest nor the man who anointed him could touch food for four days, after which they bathed. The proceedings were compared to those for a manslayer (p. 143), only the priest was not subject to tapu. At this time the women went to fish, but were forbidden to put the fish in their baskets: they lifted the net and those who fed the priest snatched the fish and placed them alive before him. After two days a taro patch was dug about the size of a mat. In this they planted big suckers that they might not die. This was called "making free the earth."

The spirit was said to "jump on a priest," that is, to possess him. He 793 then prophesied. If they wanted to consult the oracle they presented food 787 to the spirit by way of entreaty, addressing him as *mbongimbongi*, that is, dawn. When people were ill an entreaty was made. When they recovered a feast was made with kava. The first cup was poured at the foot of the post, after which the people clapped; the second was drunk by the priest who was said to *rambe*, as a herald does for a chief (p. 61).

A thanksgiving offering made when people had obtained their request was 792 called *i mandrali*.

When they made puddings the first one was taken to the temple; this was called *i singana* (*singana*; to put in the sun). The first of anything thus offered was so called. The term was also used of the bodies of the slain offered at the temple. It is also used of the first pudding taken to the chief.

ANCESTOR GODS

The god (*kalou*) of Navuanirewa, that is of the nobles, had no name. 776 It was not a true god (*kalou ndina*), but an abortion, so it was spoken of as the spirit of the house (*kalau ni vale*), which was nothing but the spirits of the children that died in the house. It was spoken of as child (*ngone*) or Solosolombalavu. Its temple was Salia.

The *kalou* of all Katumbalevu including the nobility was Tokairambe. His temple was called Mauthori. The Mauthori branch of Katumbalevu were the priests. Tokairambe was spoken of as Thingumbob of Mauthori (*ko ka mai Mauthori*), or the god (*tevoru*) of Mauthori.

Tokairambe's body (*tolo*) was a hawk (*taiseni*). A man of Katumbalevu might not kill the hawk, or the god (*tevoru*) would kill him.

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The leader looked after them if a new man could not do it, the leader would go and sit beside him and say, "Lively, lively" (*mbula*), to make it embark, that is, to make the spirit enter. Sometimes he fails; at some future time he will be able to make it embark.

I frequented the performances for three months; they did it three or four times a week; and I never saw any more than that: there is plenty of talk but the performance is small. They did not tell the history of the Children of Water, but only that they and the spirits (ghosts) are enemies.

DIVINATION

Divination was practised with a coconut; a method called *vakawiri man-jingi* (*vakawiri*, to twirl; *manjingi*, a term for a coconut used in this manner). In Yandrana this method was used in consulting Tutumatua. If the people wanted to know whether they would have a fair wind to the Southern Islands, they would take a mature coconut with the husk on and holding it say, "I am touching the coconut: if it is your wish that we may go tomorrow let the coconut arise [?] and face me." Then a man twirls the coconut: if it faces him it is said to face right; if it does not it faces wrong. If it faces right it is twirled again without the prayer being repeated; it must face right twice or they cannot sail. If the nut faced right they kissed it. The same method was also used in sickness. Every one knew how to do it, and I have seen boys use it to find out who is a bad man.

(43) people in a festival. If war were impending from Mualevu, each sent a message to his villages.

643 The office of Ravunisa was vacant several years, so the Rasau was the first chief.
761 It is said that were a Ravunisa installed whose hair was not white, he would soon die. Only one Ravunisa lived to be of any great age. Enere, who was installed in 1912, died within a week. A spirit had smitten him. He said one evening that a black man had come; next morning Enere was dead. The same black man appeared to Amini when he was Ravunisa. Amini was asleep at the foot of a mango tree; a black man, constable of the grave, constable of the spirits, appeared to him and raised his club to strike him, but he stepped on a dry leaf of breadfruit which crackled; so he did not strike, fearing people might hear. Therefore, Amini did not die but merely had a big illness.

643 The Ravunisa originate from Mualevu, where was a family, the Vuanimoli, who caught turtle and sent none to Tui Yaro. For this reason they were driven out and went to live in Lomaloma. Hearing that the Ravunisa was in Narothiso they went there, slew him, took his daughter, who brought them to Lomaloma and they were installed.

If the Ravunisa dies the Nggala choose a successor and inform the Mbutha, who approve. The new chief is called Tui Lomaloma before drinking the kava. It is not an installation name. After drinking he gives up the title of Tui Lomaloma and becomes Ravunisa. All the villages are informed of the election and come to install him.

The Levukans make the kava. No talking is allowed. It is forbidden for any one to go to the house: there is a guard adorned in the Fijian way and armed with clubs. Any one who comes that way is clubbed. The chief does not wear a scarf. When the kava is poured out two men lift up the cups; they perform antics: they raise the cups slowly, then stretch out their arms, and bending their bodies forward they put one foot before the other with stiff legs and a jerky motion; if any one laughs a guard says, "Go and bake a big pig." The cup-bearers present the cup to the Ravunisa, but before he drinks the herald speaks to him, "See the kava you are drinking today that you may be mindful of the kava of the Ravunisa, that you may love the land, love the people." He tells him to look after his people. Then the Ravunisa drinks, then the herald, then Nukuthiri, a noble clan to which the kava jumps (*rindo*); fourth the Rasau, then the Rasau's herald, then any one else. The same day a feast is made by the whole of Lomaloma, then they go home. They do not keep the four nights.

643 The Rasau originate in Lomaloma. The earliest recorded was Sau and
787 priest of spirits: if a war impended between Mualevu and Lomaloma the people waited upon him and made offerings of whale's teeth and hundred fathom pieces of cloth. This chief had a big dog called Tuilambelambe or Tuinaivindrawalu; if a war was impending he barked; if he barked facing Mualevu the men of Mualevu would be beaten; but if he faced Lomaloma the Lomalomans would be beaten. At the present day if any one of Mbutha is about to die this dog appears.

643 The people of Tuvutha gave the soil and the men to this Rasau's son and installed him as Tui Tuvutha because he put an end to the wars between the two villages by making them into one. There were few people left in Tuvutha so when the Tui Naiau said, "What do you wish me to give you in exchange for the sandalwood that is in Tuvutha?" Tui Tuvutha answered, "The sandalwood is a trifle if you give me a population for my island."

and Tokalau where a man named Velana was killed. In the village of Tokalau four stones, forming a rectangle, mark the spot where a man dropped dead. A pile of stones at Toka, Fulanga, also mark a burial place. 764

Formerly, members of the deceased's clan would chop off their little fingers with an adz.

WARFARE

The war complex in Lau was closely allied with the ancestor cult and the concept of rank based on mana. Informants agree that warfare and fortified villages were introduced into Lau by the immigrants who formed the chiefs' phratry. It is said that before the migration from Viti Levu, the land people lived peacefully together in scattered hamlets. A state of tension grew out of the keen interclan and intervillage rivalry for prestige, enhanced by the desire for power on the part of the warriors of the ranking noble clans. 726

Warfare in Lau usually took the form of raids between villages led by rival war leaders of the chief group. Rivalry often centered around the desire for women. The attacking party would capture a high ranking woman, perhaps the wife of a chief from another village, and the affront would be met by a counter attack. [721]

Tales of warfare are full of treachery. The object was to outwit the opponent and save one's own skin. To risk one's life was considered stupid. Attacks were usually launched only by forces superior in strength to those of the defendants. Otherwise an attempt was made to lure the leaders into ambush and to attack them singly or in groups.

Great care was taken to insure the success of a raid. The attacking party secured the assistance of relatives. If they planned to attack a village on another island, the warriors used a related village on that island as their landing place, base of supplies, and ally. The priest retired to the temple and propitiated the war god (*kalou ni valu*). He made an offering of kava to the god and he prayed to the god until he was possessed. He then took the ceremonial club of the clan and stood it up on the handle in the center of the god house. If the club stood up unsupported he knew that the god had entered the weapons of the warriors and the raid would be successful. If it fell down, the raid would not be successful, and the expedition was abandoned. [787]

Four days before the attack the warriors held a meeting in the village, and the war gong (*lali ni valu*) was sounded. It consisted of a hollow log of *tavola* (*Terminalia catappa*) or *mbuambua* (*Guetiarda speciosa*) wood about 1.5 meters long. Two men, each with two sticks, stood on opposite sides of the gong and beat in unison. The first drummer was called *tau*, the second *vakataungande*. The complicated, rhythmic war beat was called *nduki tu a lali ni mbakola*. During the four days before the raid the men prepared their weapons. Sexual intercourse and the stealing of property were forbidden. 533
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159 the genealogies of most of the clans on the island and could
trace his clan genealogy back about ten generations.

159 Although highly respected as a personality, Tchosaia had
550 lost prestige as an island chief on account of the newly created
622 political offices. He was in direct line of succession, but was
178 never installed as chief of Kambara because of the *mbuliship*,
according to informants. Formerly, the chief of an important
island like Kambara received the first fruits of the harvest
from the whole island. First fruits are no longer presented
regularly on Kambara. When we were there, however, he
received one-half of the first fruits of one village (Tokalau)
only. The other half was presented to the highest government
officer of the village, namely the village headman. This loss
of prestige is keenly felt by Tchosaia, who is a reactionary.
He is the only man on the island who does not attend the
mission church.

159 To compensate for his diminishing power, Tchosaia has
756 become a prominent medicine man. He specializes in cases
of "spirit possession" and "soul loss" (see page 129) and his
cures are effected mainly by supernatural means. Hence he
[174] is feared in the community, not only because of his chiefly
"mana" but also because of his control of the spirit world.
[187] When we had known Tchosaia some time he told us how
he received his medicines. One night, when he was about
fifty years of age, two of his ancestor gods appeared to him.
They gave him "mana" and medicine to cure the sick. Since
that time he has been a successful witch doctor.

159 The case of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara, shows
554 how one individual has met the problems caused by changing
622 standards of prestige in Lau. A different type of adjustment
has been made by the chief of Mothe. Although neither the
chief nor a member of his clan holds the *mbuliship* on Mothe,
the chief of Mothe has retained more prerogatives than has
the chief of Kambara. He is still installed, according to the
traditional ceremony of binding a piece of tapa about the

769 It reinforced the desire for prestige, based on rank, success in
797 warfare and wealth, which gave the culture its definite secular
bias. These ancestor gods are still feared by many old Lauans
today.

769 The ancestor gods were worshipped in temples—small
346 thatched huts with disproportionately high gabled roofs and
778 oval shaped ground plan. The temples were elevated on stone-
793 flanked mounds surrounded by fragrant plants, for fragrance
was associated with sacredness in the minds of the natives. In
them were kept sacred objects belonging to the clan, such as
elaborately carved ceremonial clubs. A hereditary priest
officiated at each temple. He propitiated the gods with offer-
ings such as food, kava, whales' teeth, and human sacrifices,
especially the bodies of enemies captured in warfare. All that
remain today of these temples are the stone-flanked mounds on
which offerings are occasionally made secretly.

776 Most of the gods of the upper class were war gods. Before
726 a raid the priest consulted the war gods regarding the auspici-
793 ousness of an attack, and prayed that "mana" be granted the
clan warriors and their weapons. Without the approval of the
gods the raid would not be successful. If the god responded,
the priest's body began to twitch and shake. As the god
entered his body the priest writhed in grotesque contortions.
He was bathed in sweat. The movements became more and
more violent until finally in a queer shrill voice the god spoke
through the priest.

● 787 Williams gives the following account of this spirit possession.
793 "One who intends to consult the oracle dresses and oils himself
and, accompanied by a few others, goes to the priest . . .
When the party enters, he (the priest) rises, and sits so that his
back is near to the white cloth by which the god visits him,
while the others occupy the opposite side of the *mbure*
(temple). The principal person presents a whale's tooth,
states the purpose of the visit, and expresses a hope that the
god will regard him with favor. Sometimes there is placed

before the priest a dish of scented oil, with which he anoints himself, and then receives the tooth, regarding it with deep and serious attention. Unbroken silence follows. The priest becomes absorbed in thought, and all eyes watch him with unblinking steadiness. In a few minutes he trembles; slight distortions are seen in his face, and twitching movements in his limbs. These increase to a violent muscular action, which spreads until the whole frame is strongly convulsed, and the man shivers as with a strong ague fit. In some instances this is accompanied with murmurs and sobs, and veins are greatly enlarged, and the circulation of the blood quickened. The priest is now possessed by his god, and all his words and actions are considered as no longer his own, but those of the deity who has entered into him. Shrill cries of '*Koi aul, Koi au!*' (It is I! It is I!) fill the air, and the god is supposed thus to notify his approach. While giving the answer the priest's eyes stand out and roll as in a frenzy; his voice is unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his breathing depressed, and his entire appearance like that of a furious madman. The sweat runs from every pore, and tears start from his strained eyes; after which the symptoms gradually disappear . . ."⁴⁷

The success of the clan in warfare, its strength, man power, and wealth were derived from the "mana" of its ancestral gods. This clan "mana" was concentrated in the clan "old head" (that is, the first born direct male descendant of the first son of the founder). The high chief of Lau has the most "mana" of any living person. Theoretically the direct descendant of the highest ancestral god, he is considered to be the most sacred living being.

The ancestral gods formed a sort of celestial hierarchy which was reflected in the system of ranked clans in Lauan society. Ndengei (pronounced En-deng-ě'), the great snake god of Viti Levu and mythical originator of the upper class in Lau, stood at the top of the set-up. Tradition says that many generations

⁴⁷ Williams and Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 224-225.

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THE LAU ISLANDS

*539 seldom seen. He was a head only, and used to
776 roll."

"Used to roll?" I repeated; "what do you mean?"

"Yes, sir, he just rolled along the ground. It was said that once there was a great fighting among the gods, and 'Ulupoka,' who was a malicious god, got slain, and his head was cut off and thrown to earth. Anyhow, that is all that appears to us; and it means sickness, if not death, when it is seen. It usually comes at dusk. One is, perhaps, sitting on the mats inside one's house, looking out through the open doorway, when a cold feeling comes over one, and one sees 'Ulupoka' come rolling and bouncing horribly across the *rara*, and then he comes over the threshold, wriggling across the mats, snarling with an evil look. One cannot get away, but has to sit there, waiting." Here he paused.

[787] "And what then?" I said.

"He bites one's toe and goes away again."

I could not help smiling at the climax, but I could see that the whole thing was very real to the speaker.

"And does he ever appear nowadays?" I asked.

"Oh, yes," was the reply; "but only in our dreams, of course, for the *lotu* is the strongest now. And also there is another way we may know